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FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM : AMEMBASSY, Taipei

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON. November 16, 1954 TDC/MR

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SUBJECT: KMT Security Measure			DECLASSIFIED	
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The Free China, a fortnightly that is frequently critical of the KMT, published in its November 1 issue an analysis of what is called "The Self Cleaning Movement" in the KMT. Apparently this movement is designed to protect the State against Communist subversion. It calls for all members of the KMT to submit detailed biographical summaries.

The Free China accepts the need to guard against Communist plots and subversion but maintains that this plan is typical of methods employed by the Chinese Communists. A translation of the article follows:

"THE SELF-CLEANING MOVEMENT IS UNDESIRABLE"

"The Self-Cleaning Movement which is now in full swing within the Kuomintang and involving everyone of its members, is a big event in Free China. Since both party members and outsiders are much concerned with this movement, we wish to present our views here for the reference of the authorities of Kuomintang.

Before we enter into discussion of the subject, we would like to quote a passage from the Analect of Confucius:

Yeh Kung told Confucius: 'Among my associates, there is an honest man. He testified against his father who had stolen a goat.'

Confucius said: 'Among my associates, the honest men are different. The father conceals (the wrong doings of) his son, and the son conceals (the wrong doings of) his father. And there is honesty.'

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The devotion expressed by the father for his son and by the son for his father is a basic element of humanity. It commands the high respect of the Chinese sage who considered it a fine expression of true honesty. It is also in line with the legal code of civilized nations which prohibits the use of force to make criminals to testify against their kinsmen.

This high regard for human nature is what we stand for and is also what we are fighting for in our struggle against communism. The reference made by Confucius over two thousand years ago offers us a special meaning today.

'Self exposure', 'Self criticism', 'Liquidation' and 'Struggle' are typical methods employed by the Chinese Communists on the mainland today. Are they not testifying-against-the-father in its extreme form? As a matter of fact, a son on the mainland now does not need the prop of a goat to condemn his father to death. He can do it simply by labeling his father 'counter revolutionary' and makes a hero of himself. The communist government is a regime that seeks to destroy human nature. Under such a government, human nature no longer retains its dignity. Individual is but an instrument to the party machine. We fight the communists today because we are against their inhuman deeds. Therefore, it goes without saying that the methods we are to adopt to combat communism should be based on our high respect for humanity.

From this standpoint, let us look at the Self Cleaning Movement.

The Self Cleaning Movement requires every party member to report to the party, frankly and without reservation, all their connections whether they are direct or indirect, close or distant. While admitting that there is a world of difference between this movement and the 'self expose' and 'self criticism' methods of the communists, we must point out that such a phrase as 'turn over the connections to the organization' (appearing in the Self Cleaning Declaration) is intrinsically Bolshevistic in thought and in phraseology. Its implication is at variance with the Confucian concept of respecting human nature. Human nature has its dignity. No one is willing to abuse himself unless under extreme conditions.

We understand that in this movement, each Kuomintang member is required, in addition to signing a self cleaning declaration, to complete 15 different forms, including

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'Party Member Self Cleaning Form', 'List of Mainland Connections Investigation Form' and 'Purge Report Form'. It is next to impossible for each party member to faithfully and thoroughly fill out these forms... (In order to familiarize our readers with the complicity of these forms, we itemize the contents of the above mentioned three forms at the end of this article).

To handle and process these forms for the present number of Kuomintang members in Free China would be a tremendous task in itself. Let us assume that there are 300,000 Kuomintang members on the island. Fifteen forms for each person, there will be a total of 4,500,000 forms. How much man power would be required to examine and file that number of forms properly? If these forms are merely to be filled out for no further action, it would be a gross waste of time and energy on the part of the Kuomintang members. Yet this is only a secondary question. We are primarily more concerned with the actual effect of this movement on the Kuomintang.

As far as we can gather, the purpose of the Kuomintang authorities in launching this Self Cleaning Movement is (1) to thoroughly exterminate all communist spies, (2) to prepare for communist defections during the counter-attack and (3) to test the loyalty of the Kuomintang members. Would these goals be attained through the Self Cleaning Movement? Let us do a little analysis to find an answer.

First of all, we do not believe that the self cleaning movement can achieve the purpose of up-rooting communist spies on this island. We know by common sense that any trained communist agent will never betray his connections in this movement.

Secondly, we doubt seriously if the investigation of mainland connections will yield the expected results. Due to the Bamboo Curtain and with a view to avoid trouble for their relatives on the mainland, very few people on the island keep up their correspondence with the mainland. Under the circumstances, how much information we can get from this investigation? Besides, once we launch our counter attack, thousands of people on the mainland will swarm to our side. In such a case, no amount of information material collected by the Kuomintang through this movement is sufficient to take care of this tremendous personnel reshuffle.

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Thirdly, to test the loyalty of the party members is a very delicate matter. As we mentioned before, self abuse is an act against human nature. In general, members of the Kuomintang have reacted adversely to the self cleaning movement. The first impact of the movement in their minds is a feeling of distrust. This feeling is likely to cause each member to reproach himself and to suspect one another. They hesitate to fill out the forms. And yet they cannot very well refuse to do so, being fully aware that once they don't do it, they will be under suspicion of disloyalty. In this dilemma, they will begin to resent. Resentment among members of any organization is an unhealthy and dangerous symptom. Besides, the Purge Report Form will provide chances for the villainous to take revenge against their personal enemies. The result would be that those who might like to join the party will lose their enthusiasm while the party itself will gradually disintegrate because of disunity among its members.

Mainland is many times bigger than Taiwan. The Chinese Communists have more people under their control than we can possibly muster on the island. But we are confident of our victory because we are united heart and soul for a single cause while the majority of the people on the mainland do not cooperate with their communist rulers. At this crucial moment, we cannot afford to have disunity not only within the Kuomintang alone but also among the people of Free China as a whole.

We can see from the above that the underlying principle of the Self Cleaning Movement is contrary to the Confucian concept of humanity and the modern idea of democracy. In practice, it will do more harm than good to the Kuomintang. For this reason, we earnestly suggest to the Kuomintang authorities to immediately stop this movement.

Of course we are aware of the penetrating communist activities. We must not for a single moment relax our vigilance against communist infiltration. On the other hand, we should not confine our anti-communist activities to the defensive - merely guarding ourselves against communist spies. We must exercise our greatest wisdom to attain our goal in the political and ideological front. In this respect, some people entertain the wrong idea that anyone of the citizens in Free China may be a communist spy. This sort of people only serve to spread propaganda and confuse our own steps. We must know that

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provincial or town residents associations, academic institutions, cultural associations and local self government bodies, etc.

If person had been captured by the communists or been staying on communist occupied areas: date and place of capture, accounts of imprisonment or residence in the communist area, accounts of escape to Taiwan, present conditions and details of the entry guaranties.

Education and training. These include primary, secondary and higher education as well as short term training classes. Names of school teachers exercising marked influence on the party member concerned should be given.

Business experience: Not confined to government offices, should include all sorts of work or business attended; if not working at all during a period, it should be noted to the effect.

Family connections; including lineal and collateral branches of the family as well as father's, mother's, husband-or-wife's, and daughter's and son's families; special notation should be made against the names of those having the closest connections, those exercising marked influence on the party member concerned, those having important political positions, potential power in society, special achievements.

Social and political connections; including parents friends, personal friends, fellow countrymen, teachers, students, school mates, colleagues, neighbors, etc. If any of them has political affiliations, attention should be given to his party history, present activities and the name of the responsible officer in his party and his potential influence in society; particular importance should be attached to analysis of the public relations and economic potentiality (of the responsible officer).

2. Mainland Connections Investigation Form also has the items for investigation of family connections and social connections, including: name, age, native place, educational standard, experience, occupation of each relative on the mainland; an analysis of his inability to come to Taiwan, of his yearning for the government, whether he has rallying power in the place of his residence, whether he ever takes up any communist position; and an appraisal of his usefulness in the future. The

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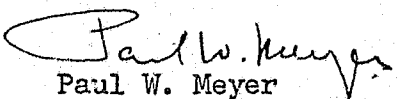
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same information is required under the social connections column.

3. The salient points in the Purge Report Form include: name, sex, age, native place of the person informed and his relations with the informant; whether he is a party member, if so his membership number; his present address, outstanding educational and business background; his family connections and associates; an account of the case involving the informed; witnesses and material evidences and other connections that may provide information; recommendations for the disposal of the case, etc."

For the Ambassador:


Paul W. Meyer
First Secretary of Embassy

Copy sent to Hong Kong.

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